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is not exactly what is quite ordinary, immediately all sorts of questions are asked: Why? What is the matter? What is the meaning? What might it portend? What secret is hidden behind it? And so on.

Now the pagan Isneg are no better. They also will try to find some explanation different from the natural one for any event that does not look entirely ordinary to them. And so the birth of twins being a rather rare occurrence, there must be something the matter with it. Twins. Who ever heard of two children being born at once from one husband and one wife, without there being a secret behind the whole affair? Twins: this is far from common. And there you are; an explanation has to be found. Now there is one ready at hand, and to the Isneg mind a very reasonable one, it is not even necessary to enter into the realm of spirits: two children at once must be the product of two men; when one man who lives in bigamy begets two children simultaneously from two women, there are at least three authors, so now also these twins must be the offspring of three persons, —in this case of only one woman of course, and thus necessarily of two men.

Now what to do? Just kill one of them, put it out of the way, and so avoid the shame attached to the whole affair; kill all gossip in the bud. But is every child not welcome? Certainly it is, but a child has no business bringing a companion with it, and the joy of the parents will be complete with the single child; the other one, if alive, will not add to that joy, nor, if dead, detract from it. Here of course the husband is faced with a dilemma: either his wife is a virtuous woman or she is not; if she is, and maybe he knows her to be so, then how can she have a child by another man? If she is not, why does he not divorce her? Yes, but this dilemma does not confront the Isneg, his reasoning does not extend as far as that. If he knew his wife to have been unfaithful, that would be reason enough for him to divorce her without needing the birth of twins to convince him. Here he stands before an extraordinary event, the birth of twins; he has found an explanation for it: the action of a third person. This is a very shameful affair to both husband and wife, but he will eliminate all difficulties at once: one of the twins will be done away with. And there his reasoning stops, the incident is closed.

Here follow a few Isneg expressions with reference to little children:

Babbíń or *ababbíń*, when used by the parents: son, daughter, child.

Ababbíń, when used by the parents: sons, daughters, children.

Ababbíń, when used by other persons: little children not yet able or barely able to walk.

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104 *Aná-* (used only in G [B and/or A.—Ed.] branch of Ô dialect) or *an-aná-*, when used by the parents: son, daughter, child.

601 *Anánə-*, when used by the parents: sons, daughters, children.

192 *Anánə-*, when used by other persons: children up to the age of puberty.

Abbí-: very small babe.

Abbág: child. A term used contemptuously by older people.

Maxabílin: to watch the baby.

Magtaddáy: to try to stand without support, to learn how to walk. Said of little children.

Magkalúsig: to weep, to cry, when father or mother goes away. Said of little children.

Monaágósi: to carry a child on the nape of one's neck, keeping the little one in a sitting position, its legs dangling in front, one on either side. An Isneg father often carries his baby that way, provided the latter has already attained a certain age.

Pońanán: to give to eat, to feed (human beings). To feed animals is *pakkanán*. Both from the stem *kán* and the suffix *an*; only prefix differs: *pań* (the *k* of the stem being eliminated) in the first case, *pa* (the *k* of the stem being reduplicated) in the second.

C. NAMES AND NAMING

553 Now we come to the giving of a name. It goes without saying that
551 among the Isneg, like among most primitive peoples, there is no question of a family name. Every man and woman, every body and girl, has his or her own personal name, and that is all. But what's in a name? To an Isneg the name of a person in a way stands for that person's own self; to call his name is to call the person in question.

And so when a child is repeatedly ill, which means "pestered by the spirits", the best way to cure it is to change its name, or, to use the Isneg expression, "to shift its name (*ialít ya ńáxanna*)". Let the spirits amuse themselves with the old name, the child as it was formerly; as it is at present, with its new name, its new personality, the spirits will have to leave it in peace: they have been fooled once more by the cleverness of poor mortals, they will pester an old name, a lost personality, and use their evil influence in vain; the new child, the child with the new name, will escape unscathed.

551 Again, do not pronounce the name of a dead person, an Isneg
769 "takes pity on him (*alakkán*)"; leave him in peace where he is, do

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Isneg expressions referring to names and worthy of notice are the following:

kalôbaxán: a name that has the same ending as another one. *Magkalôbăn*: to bear each a name with the same ending. For instance: *Balás, Kolás; Éba, Xawwá; Basán, Dawwán; Antóniyo, Ásiyo*, etc.

isáń and *ébăy*: familiar diminutive names for girls in general. Similar names are: in Iloko, *iníń*; in Ibanag, *néne-* (probably from the Spanish *nene*, "baby, whether boy or girl").

Nicknames, as applied to one particular person, are used very sparingly among the Isneg. I know of only one case: a Lettnakan boy, called *Ásiyo* and baptized Pedro, is very generally called *Paláli* even by his own relatives. *Paláli* is the name of a tree, and also of its fruits, which are edible, but very sour.

The Isneg are not very good genealogists. It very often happens that a young man or an adult girl does not even know the name of one or more of their grandparents, especially if the latter died before their grandchild was born. When asked about such names, the Isneg who happens not to know them usually excuses his ignorance by saying: "*Akkáńko nasińán* (I did not see him or her)".

II. Education

It might be thought at first sight that the Isneg leads a very unhappy and miserable life, a life full of drudgery, a life devoid of all comforts and possessing only a minimum of pleasure. But when you come to consider him more intimately, to enter more deeply into the matter, it does not take long for you to be convinced of the contrary. Indeed, he has very few needs; it is comparatively easy, to quote Jerome K. Jerome in "Three Men in a Boat", for an Isneg "to have enough to eat and enough to wear, and a little more than enough to drink", and he has little work to do. Besides, look at the fine family life he is living: if he has a good diligent wife, and most Isneg women are like that, and plenty of children around, really his bliss exceeds all understanding, I mean the understanding of a Caucasian with his manifold cares and innumerable wants.

Again at first sight, it might seem that the children's education is reduced to the very minimum, or rather that the youngsters get no education at all, as everybody, not excepting the children, seems to shift for himself and to do as he pleases. One would be the more inclined to think so when comparing the Isneg with other primitive

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857 *Magdaldál*: Said of a mother who badly wants to see her absent child.

192 *Kakóboń*: Family, parents and children.

104 *Makikóboń*: To live together in the same house (two different families, servants of the family).

601 *Amá* or *ammá*: Father.

Iná or *inná*: Mother.

Wazí: Brother, sister. Plural: *wawázi*.

Manákam: Oldest brother or sister (the first of all); also: parents, ancestors.

Udiyán: Youngest brother or sister (the last of all).

Ulitág: Uncle.

Ikít: Aunt.

Kapinsán: First cousin.

Kapiduwá: Second cousin.

Kapi-ló: Third cousin (prefix *kapi* and stem *talló*, "three").

Katuxáńan: Father-in-law, mother-in-law.

Manúxań: Son-in-law, daughter-in-law.

Kâyoń or *katâyúg*: Brother-in-law.

Ípăg: Sister-in-law.

Kabírat: The relation that exists between the husbands or wives of two brothers or sisters, or the husband of a woman and her brother's wife.

Bálo: widower, widow (mourning).

Búkud: widower, widow (after the mourning period is over).

601 Many of these terms have a very elastic meaning. *Wazí* may be either a real brother or sister, or simply any kind of relative. *Amá* and *iná* may sometimes refer to any relative whose relation is similar to that of father and mother, for instance: uncle and aunt, etc. *Kâyoń* may be either a real brother-in-law or the husband of a first cousin, etc.

III. Daily Routine

512 Although the daily life of an Isneg is not regulated by the clock,
264 there is nevertheless a certain order in the routine of his duties and occupations. The family generally rises at daybreak. An Isneg begins the day as soon as artificial light can be dispensed with, and if yams (*úbi*) or sweet potatoes (*kamusí*) are available, the women cook them on the never-absent fire, and all inmates of the house try to get their share as best they can. As soon as this informal break-